

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 01351 01 OF 02 151429 Z

43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ADP-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 FILE-01 CCO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01

DODE-00 H-02 SS-15 NSC-10 OMB-01 IO-13 OIC-04 CU-04

ACDA-19 AEC-11 AECE-00 RSR-01 /146 W

----- 099591

O R 151123 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1752

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOAQOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 1351

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR

SUBJECT: NATOMIN: AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 14

SECTO 49

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 01351 01 OF 02 151429 Z

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

SUMMARY: FONMINS OF FRG, ITALY, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS, LUXEMBOURG AND ICELAND WELCOMED US INITIATIVE ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, AND MOST SPECIFICALLY URGED PROMPT NATO ACTION ON DEFENSE ASPECTS, LOOKING TO MULTILATERAL MEETINGS LATER IN YEAR AND POSSIBLE DECLARATION REAFFIRMING ALLIANCE PURPOSES. NETHERLANDS PROMISED TO PROVIDE DRAFT DECLARATION. MOST ACKNOWLEDGED NEED FOR EUROPEANS TO PLAY GREATER ROLE IN DEFENSE BURDEN SHARING. ALL SAVE DUTCH EXPRESSED FULL SATISFACTION WITH MPT RESULTS, AND NETHERLANDS MUTED PREVIOUS INSISTENCE ON DATE FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AS CONDITIONED FOR CSCE ATTENDENTE. ALL BUT FRG FAVORED PRIORITY NEGOTIATION OF REDUCTIONS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES, IN MBFR; FRG FONMIN REPEATED POSITION ON INDIGENOUS FORCES GIVEN BY FRG DEFMIN AT DPC MINISTERIAL. END SUMMARY.

1. ICELANDIC FONMIN AGUSTSSON EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH FINAL MPT DOCUMENT AND ICELANDIC READINESS TO ACCEPT JULY 3 DATE FOR FIRST PHASE OF CSCE. MBFR TALKS SHOULD BEGIN IN FALL, BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO ALLIED CONDITIONS ABOUT CSCE ATTENDANCE ATTACHED IN ATTEMPT TO GET SOVIET COMMITMENT ON DATE. ICELAND BELIEVES US INVITATION TO DIALOGUE ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS IS IMPORTANT, AND SHOULD BE PURSUED, BUT ICELAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ALLIANCE WAS COLORED BY FISHERIES ISSUE AND IDF RETENTION QUESTION. (SEE SEPTTEL ON ENSUING DISCUSSION OF ICELAND ISSUES.)

2. FRG FONMIN SCHEEL BEGAN GENERAL STATEMENT WITH EXPLANATION THAT FRG NOW SEES BILATERAL PHASE OF EASTERN POLICY AS PRACTICALLY COMPLETED. PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES FOR RATIFICATION OF INNER-GERMAN TREATY ARE FINISHED AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BULGARIA AND HUNGARY IS EXPECTED IN FEW MONTHS. BILATERAL PHASE WAS CAPPED WITH BREZHNEV VISIT, AND FRG NOW SEES WAY CLEAR FOR ACTIVE PURSUIT OF MULTILATERAL GOALS IN CSCE AND MBFR.

3. SCHEEL EXPRESSED FRG SATISFACTION WITH RESULTS OF MPT, WHICH HAD BEEN DUE IN LARGE PART TO ALLIES INSISTENCE ON THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF ISSUES AND SUCCESSFUL CONSULTATIONS AMONG NATO ALLIES AND ECNINE. FRG DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT TWO MONTHS IS REALISTIC  
E E E E E E E

ADP000  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 01351 02 OF 02 151506 Z

42  
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ADP-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

FILE-01 CCO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00

H-02 SS-15 NSC-10 OMB-01 IO-13 OIC-04 CU-04 ACDA-19

AEC-11 AECE-00 RSR-01 INRE-00 /146 W  
----- 099999

O R 151123 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1753

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 1351

SUBJ: NATOMIN: AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 14

SECTO 49

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 01351 02 OF 02 151506 Z

9. VAN ELSLANDE SAID EUROPEANS SHOULD " SEIZE" US PRESIDENTIAL OFFER OF DIALOGUE ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, WITH DEFENSE PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED IN ALLIANCE. DIALOGUE SHOULD LEAD TO A JUST DISTRIBUTION OF DEFENSE BURDENS, WITH EUROPEANS ASSUMING GREATER SHARE. BUT US SHOULD NOTE THE SHARE THAT EUROPEANS ASSUMING GREATER SHARE. BUT US SHOULD NOTE THE SHARE THAT EUROPEANS ALREADY BEAR, AND THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING INCREASED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES FROM PARLIAMENTS.

10. THORN ( LUXEMBOURG) ECHOED BELGIAN LINE ON CSCE/ MBFR TIMING. HE APPEALED TO FRANCE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT DANGERS OF UNILATERAL US WITHDRAWAL IF MBFR NOT PURSUED, WHICH EXPLAINED LUXEMBOURG PREFERENCE FOR FIRST MBFR PHASE WITH US/ SOVIET CUTS. EMISSARY SYSTEM HAD BEEN NECESSARY IN VIENNA, BUT HAD CAUSED DIFFI-

CULTIES AT TIMES, SUCH AS DURING HUNGARIAN DISCUSSION, WHEN SOME ALLIES WERE " WAVERING". SOLIDARITY OF ALLIES IN HELSINKI CON- SULTATIONS SHOULD BE EMULATED IN MBFR. THORN AGREED WITH US VIEW THAT ALLIES NEED TO REDEFINE GOALS OR TO REAFFIRM THEM, AND SUPPORTED FRG SUGGESTION THAT US PRESIDENT MEET WITH BOTH EC AND WITH NAC.

10. ITALY ( MEDICI) REFERRED TO TWO MAIN INTERNATIONAL ISSUES-- THE STATE OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE EVOLUTION OF EAST- WEST RELATIONS -- AND TO THEIR INTERDEPENDENC E. AS TO ATLANTIC RELATIONS, HE SUPPORTED A RE- APPRAISAL OF THE INSTRUMENTS WEREBY THE ALLIANCE PURSUED ITS PREVIOUSLY- AGREED OBJECTIVES. HE SUPPORTED SECY ROGERS ON THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE ALLIANCE KEPT UP WITH CHANGING TIMES AND RENEWED ITSELF. NATO FORCES MUST BE ADEQUATE FOR THE AGREED NATO STRATEGY, AND THE ALLIANCE SHOULD DISCUSS A NEW DIS- TRIBJTION OF TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THE OUTCOME OF THIS RE- APPRAISAL COULD BE A DECLARATION OR JOINT COMMUNIQUE AGREED BY MINISTERS, BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO DEADLINES WHICH MIGHT PREJUDICE THE VALIDITY OF CONCLUSIONS.

11. MEDICI CONTINUED THAT AS REGARDS EAST- WEST RELATIONS, IMPORTANT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE AT THE MPT. THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE AND VALIDITY OF ITS IDEALS HAD BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN THIS OUTCOME. ANY CSCE DECLARATION CONCERNING RELATIONS AMONG EUROPEAN STATES SHOULD NOT CREATE A " SPECIAL" EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THERE SHOULD BE NO FIXED LIMITS FOR COMPLETION OF CSCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 01351 02 OF 02 151506 Z

12. AS TO MBFR , MEDICI FAVORED REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES AS A FIRST STEP. ITALY PREFERRED THE SECOND US MBFR OPTION, NOTING THIS DID NOT RULE OUT INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS AT A LATER STATE. HE OPPOSED AN MBFR CONSTRAINTS AREA LARGER THAN THE REDUCTION AREA. MEDICI AGREED WITH US VIEWS ABOUT A NON- CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE REGARDING HUNGARY. HE UNDERLINED THE EARLIER UK WARNING AGAINST INHIBITIONS ON NATO EXERCISES, AND HE WANTED TO ENSURE THAT THERE WAS A COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE NETHERLANDS WAS ATTRACTED TO THE US IDEA OF " MIXED PACKAGE" REDUCTIONS TO REDUCE THOSE FORCE ELEMENTS PERCEIVED AS MOST THREATENING BY EACH SIDE. NATO COULD START BY REDUCING THE NUCLEAR PART OF ITS DEFENSE. AS TO CONSTRAINTS AND VERIFICATION, THE NETHERLANDS ASKED THE ALLIES NOT TO SET THEIR GOALS AND SIGHTS TOO LOW. NONETHELESS, A NON- CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE CONCERNING HUNGARY MIGHT BE ADEQUATE.

16. ON ATLANTIC RELATIONNS, THE NETHERLANDS AGREED ON THE NEED TO REFORMULATE COMMON AIMS AND AGREE UPON NEW TASKS. WHILE IT WELCOMED THE IDEA OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,

THIS COULD NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR CONCRETE ACTION. SINCE THERE WAS NO ONE PLACE TO DEAL JOINTLY WITH MONETARY, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY PROBLEMS, THESE SUBJECTS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

17. VAN DER STOEL INDICATED THAT THE NETHERLANDS WOULD SOON BE CIRCULATING IN NATO A DRAFT TEXT FOR A DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. HE THOUGHT THE DECLARATION SHOULD BE DEVELOPED WITHIN NATONITIAALLY, WITH LATER CONSIDERATION OF WHETHER OTHERS WOULD JOIN. VAN DER STOEL SUGGESTED LEAVING OPEN FOR COUNCIL DISCUSSION THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE A HIGH- LEVEL MEETING TO ADOPT THE DECLARATION. HE HOPED THE JOB COULD BE FINISHED BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, BUT IT WAS BETTER TO MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY FOR THE TIME BEING.

18. NOTE: VAN DER STOEL HANDLED GREEK ISSUE DEFTLY, SPEAKING OF NEED TO SUPPORT PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY BUT NEVER MENTIONING GREECE BY NAME  
ROGERS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNNMAFVVZCZ

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:**  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 15 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973COPENH01351  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** RR  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** COPENHAGEN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730620/aaaajbkp.tel  
**Line Count:** 247  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** boyleja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 08 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <08-Aug-2001 by kellerpr>; APPROVED <13-Sep-2001 by boyleja>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 980209  
**Subject:** NATOMIN: AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 14  
**TAGS:** PFOR, DA, NATO  
**To:** ANKARA  
ATHENS  
BONN  
BRUSSELS  
EUR  
LISBON  
LONDON

SECSTATE WASHDC  
THE HAGUE

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005